FREE

NEW ANARCHIST REVIEW

NO.6

NEW ANARCHIST REVIEW FEBRUARY 1986

Due to reasons which will be fully explained in a later edition, Freedom Bookshop is no longer a member of the NAR group. We would like to thank those members of Freedom who have contributed so much to the Review and look forward to maintaining a friendly relationship. This does mean, however, that we can no longer guarantee the insertion of the *NAR* in *Freedom Monthly*. Should you still wish to make sure of your copy please see the Subscription panel for details.

But we have good news as well. We would like to welcome our new American readers, courtesy of A Distribution (New York). Unfortunately the format of this edition had already been prepared when this distribution deal was arranged, but future editions will take into account our new readership. US readers are reminded that all of the titles listed as available from A Distribution (UK) are available from A Distribution (New York) as well as many others.

Due to the unexpected, and quite welcome, demand for copies of the *NAR,* we have decided to run a subscription service for those who would like to 'guarantee' their copy arriving!

As the *NAR* itself is free we have decided to charge £1.00 for four copies (ie one year's supply). This is to cover postage, packing and administration. For non-UK subscribers the charge is £1.50, payable in sterling please. Please send cheques/PO's made payable to *New Anarchist Review* to the address given

AND YET IT MOVES

The Realization and Suppression of Science and Technology

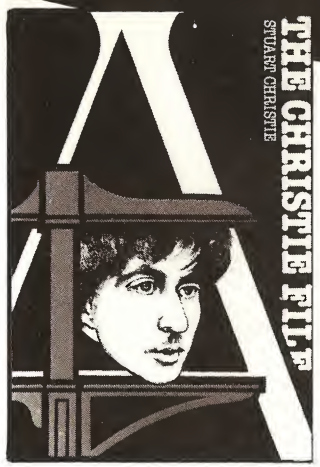
"Of all the spectacles science is the least attacked. in a society where power is everywhere diffused and everywhere attacked, the appeal to science has become a final authority. All that power need do to prove this or that point is to say that it is 'scientific'."

A poignant new critique of science, in the Situationist tradition. Published by Zamisdat Press at £3 retail.

AVAILABLE TO TRADE FROM A DISTRIBUTION AND HOUSMANS. MAIL ORDER FROM ANARCHIST BOOK SERVICE AND HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP.

THE CHRISTIE FILE

Trade:	**A Distribution**	**Stuart Christie Cienfuegos Press**
Mail Order:	**Anarchist Book Service Housmans Bookshop**	**paperback £4.50**



Published in 1980, *The Christie File* is one of the few books to have gone down in price (originally £6). For the money you get almost 400 pages of informed commentary on the Anarchist movement of the sixties and seventies.

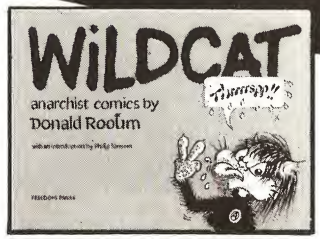
Written in an easy-going style, it begins with some personal background and then goes on to talk about Stuart Christie's imprisonment in Spain after an abortive attempt to assassinate Franco.

Where the book is particularly strong is in its account of the Angry Brigade and more specifically the police action which led up to the trial of the 'Stoke Newington Eight'. From this Christie goes on to describe the setting up of Cienfuegos Press (who published this book) and the events surrounding the 'Persons Unknown' trial.

This is by far the best book on the British Anarchist movement of that period and has always deserved to become more widely known. It's a unique personal record of some of the extraordinary events, politics, ideas and people that distinguished the sixties and seventies.

WILDCAT

Trade:	**Housmans Distribution A Distribution**	**Donald Rooum Freedom Press paperback**
Mail Order:	**Anarchist Book Service Housmans Bookshop**	**£1.50**



A good cartoon is a highly effective way of getting a point across and so the latest book from Freedom Press, a collection of Donald Rooum's Wildcat cartoons is particularly welcome. Readers of *Freedom already know the Wildcat character since he has been appearing in Freedom*'s pages since 1980 and this book should introduce him to a wider audience. Donald's funny, clever and well-drawn cartoons cover subjects including religion and violence, free speech and pornography, nuclear disarmament and the Labour Party. Best of all is his famous parable of the sheep and their shepherds, which I see as a satire on parliamentary democracy but I must say I'm not sure if that's Donald's view of his own cartoon (which he has redrawn specially for this volume).

Decide for yourself the meaning of the cartoon if you buy what is simply the best book of cartoons available. In addition to Donald's cartoons there is an introduction written by Philip Sansom, the long-time *Freedom* editor and contributor. Philip gives a quick account of Donald's involvement with the anarchist movement and the cartoons he has contributed to it. Anyone who's been nicked on a demonstration will be cheered up by the way Donald managed to beat the police frame-up when he was arrested at a 1963 demonstration. Three junior police officers were later jailed for their part in the unsuccessful frame-up but the chief culprit, Detective Sergeant Challenor was cleverly declared to be insane before he could stand trial. The police were left with egg on their faces after they decided to mix it with Donald and they won't thank him for the cartoons about them in this book.

VIRUS

Trade: Direct from:
Virus
84B Whitechapel High St
London E1

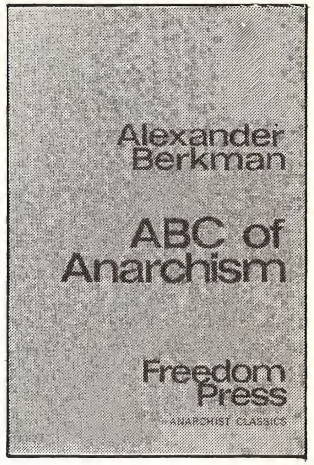
Mail Order:
Direct
Housmans Bookshop
Anarchist Book Service

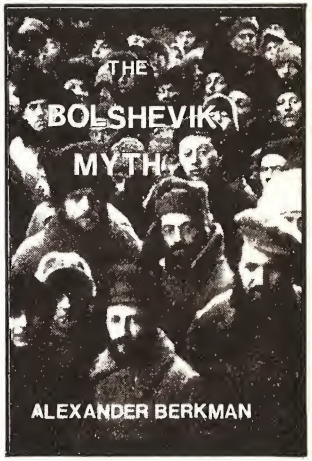
The magazine *Virus* was started in 1984 as an individual's attempt to add a slightly more ideological element to London anarchism than is usually found. It has since then tried to offer some sort of anarchist critique of the main revolutionary force in Britain (Marxism) and analyse political trends in society as a whole. Until authoritarian socialism is exposed in both its reformist and revolutionary forms, anarchism will never become a truly mass movement. Thus *Virus* has carried a series on Marxism, examining its theories of history, the state, base and superstructure, authority, democratic centralism etc.

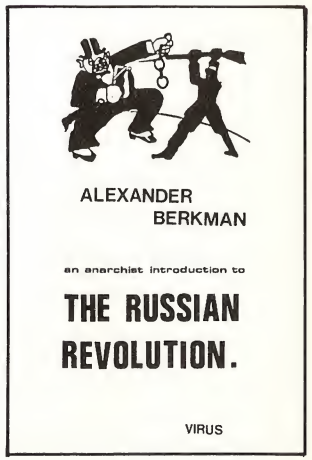
In addition to the magazine, Virus has republished Emma Goldman's pamphlet *Trotsky Protests Too Much* and Alexander Berkman's *The Bolshevik Myth* (extracts), though in very limited editions. This brings me to the main problem of much of British anarchism as I see it. The 'movement' is far too fragmented, consisting of mutually antagonistic organisations on the one hand and isolated individuals on the other. My own isolation (which seriously limited finance, print runs, exchange of ideas and joint action etc) has led me to the conclusion that the movement needs much greater cohesion and a sense of direction which can only come through association. To this end Virus will be supporting the efforts of the Libertarian Communist Discussion Group which has a quite sophisticated approach to anarchist organisation.

Titles in print at the moment include *Virus* Nos 1-5, *The Bolshevik Myth* and *Trotsky Protests Too Much.* In the near future Virus will be publishing a pamphlet by Alexander Berkman entitled *The Russian Revolution - An Anarchist Introduction.* Also available are *Anarchist Worker* supplements on 'Russia 1917', 'Spain 1936', 'Sketching the Limits of Trotsky' and 'The Organisational Platform Of The Libertarian Communists'.

Contact VIRUS, c/o 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1.







BERKMAN

ABC of Anarchism
Freedom Press
pamphlet
£1.50

Trade: **Housmans Distribution**
A Distribution

Mail Order: **Anarchist Book Service**
Housmans Bookshop

The Bolshevik Myth (extract from)
Virus
pamphlet
60p

An Anarchist Introduction to the Russian Revolution
Virus
pamphlet
80p

Trade: Direct from:
Virus
84B Whitechapel High St
London E1

Mail Order:
Direct
Housmans Bookshop
Anarchist Book Service

Berkman was a life-long militant in the anarchist movement, with personal experience of the Russian Revolution. It was always his conviction that libertarian propaganda should be written in a clear, direct style, free from jargon. He often succeeded in doing this himself, though there were times when he did seem to speak down to people, and to inadvertently simplify complex problems.

His *ABC of Anarchism* remains, despite certain flaws, one of the better introductions to anarchism currently available. Berkman regarded himself as an adherent of anarchist-communism, which he saw as the main tendency within anarchism, a view upheld by a study of anarchist movements on an international level. His anarchist communism, however, has a strong streak of humanism, so that unlike other anarchist-communists, he fails to see that anarchism itself is an ideal, not of all humanity, as he believes, but of the oppressed classes alone.

His *An Anarchist Introduction to the Russian Revolution* was originally the first part of the *ABC of Anarchism* as it first appeared as *What is Communist Anarchism?* and is intended, as it says, as a libertarian introduction to the events of 1917 onwards. Berkman briefly describes the situation under Tsarism, the various revolutionary groupings, and the differences between the Anarchist conception of Revolution and that of the Bolsheviks. He shows that Lenin and his Party used Anarchist slogans like 'Land to the Peasants, Factories to the Workers', to mobilise mass support and to seize State power, which they then used against both the labouring classes and their own political opponents to left and right.

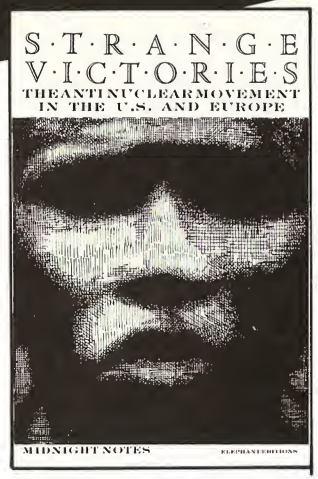
THE RUSSIAN TRAGEDY

Subscribers to Phoenix Press and readers interested in the writings of Alexander Berkman will be pleased to hear that the above title will be published in June 1986.

In *The Bolshevik Myth* Berkman further illustrates his opinion that the Bolsheviks kidnapped the Revolution and began to create a new bureaucratic and totalitarian State, using State terrorism to smash their opponents and crush any discontent among workers and peasants. Here he shows the repression used against anarchist militants, like Yossif the Emigrant, against the Makhnovist movement in the Ukraine, and against the soldiers and sailors of Kronstadt, who demanded free speech and democracy within the Revolution.

It is certainly valuable to have as many accounts of the Bolshevik betrayal of the Revolution available as possible. Leninism still poses itself as the solution to many who are dissatisfied with the present set-up. If we are to rebuild an active anarchist movement then pamphlets like these will prove useful both in explaining our basic ideas and in exposing the Leninist charlatanry that makes out that it is the agent for real revolutionary change.

Nick Heath



STRANGE VICTORIES

Midnight Notes
Elephant Editions
paperback
£1.95

Trade: **Housmans Distribution**
A Distribution

Mail Order: **Anarchist Book Service**
Housmans Bookshop

An interesting analysis of the anti-nuclear movement, it looks at its composition, class analysis (lack of it), the problem of violence and non-violence, opening a much-needed debate on struggle and organisation against the nuclear project seen within that of capital as a whole.

'Perhaps the class structure of the anti-nuclear movement becomes more clear when we look at those sectors who are not *present in it: factory workers, blacks and urban minorities, atomic workers (with some important exceptions), construction workers and young clerical and service workers.*

One of the characteristics of the ecological and anti-nuclear movement is that the class interests of the people involved in it are never directly expressed in its ideologies. Anti-nuclear militants seem to be classless angels, coming directly from the heaven of a general 'responsibility for mankind'.

Even more radical and 'anarchist' anti-plans which want to cut back society and economy to small, humane, self-sufficient units, without state, capital and money, suffer from the same basic vice: anticipating and planning a future for 'others', assuming the functions of intellectual workers.'

The Angry Brigade pamphlet previously promised in *New Anarchist Review* has been held up but is still on the way. Our apologies.

DIG THIS!

Compilation Album with Poison Girls, Mekons, Men They Couldn't Hang, Akimbo, Steve Lake, Leningrad Sandwich, The Ex, Omega Tribe, Chumbawamba.
Forward Sounds International Ltd. £3.99
Trade: Housmans Distribution
Mail Order: Housmans

Benefits, meetings, songs, poems, collections, arguments. The miners strike inspired a great wave of cultural solidarity! The media orgy is over. The miners have returned to work to be met with an extremely vindictive management. *640 miners have been victimised.* Pressure from the NUM has led to each case being reviewed. As yet (August 1985) no Scottish miner has been re-instated. Before the end of the strike the Coal Board suggested that 80% of all those dismissed would be reinstated. *'Only those persons who had committed acts of vandalism against Coal Board property, or acts of violence against employees would not be considered for reinstatement.'* (According to Home Office statistics this is only 8% of offences.) **This has proved to be another lie!** The board discriminates according to areas. In North Derbyshire and South Wales they have reinstated virtually all dismissed miners. *In Scotland, the area director, Mr Wheeler, has said that none of the 205 miners will be reinstated.* (Also Kent and the North East are particularly bad.) Sacked miners have not been allowed to present their case. Many miners have been found innocent in the courts and still sacked! Others have lost their jobs for shouting 'scab'. One man was sacked for stepping over a white line painted by the NCB on a public highway!

This album evolved from a gig organised by Lambeth Miners Support Group at Southbank Poly (side two are studio recordings). All the money raised by this album will go to the Miners Solidarity fund,
NUM, St James' House,
Vicar Lane, Sheffield S1 2EX.

TERROR

The Soviet connection:
State sponsorship of Terrorism

Jillian Becker
Inst for European Defence and Strategic Studies
£4.50

A lot is heard these days of terrorism and how governments must prevent it. Seeing as the overwhelming majority of acts of terror are actually committed by governments we are being asked to ignore the real problem and the real culprits and to concentrate instead on a comparatively insignificant problem. In addition the cause of the real problem is proposed as the solution to the imaginary one - a typically fraudulent justification of government. In her latest work Jillian Becker adds a new dimension to this absurdity - the international Communist menace.

Becker's thesis is that there is a 'global terrorist offensive' backed by the Soviet Union and aimed at 'all the liberal democracies and their less liberal, less democratic but non-Communist allies'. Her main evidence is the support given by the Soviet Union to the movements she calls terrorist and which others describe as movements of national liberation. This in itself raises more questions than it answers but Becker goes on to claim that the Soviet Union has the monopoly of supporting terrorism and this, looking at the actions of the United States and its client states such as Israel, is absurd. Becker's error is connected to the fact that she never explicitly distinguishes between terrorism and legitimate military action. As a rule of thumb terrorism is killing civilians whereas legitimate military action is killing soldiers and with this as a guideline it is obvious that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon contained a massive terrorist component. Becker chooses to ignore Israeli terrorism and instead calls the PLO terrorist (and the PLO has certainly committed acts of terror, albeit on a far smaller scale than the Israeli government). Of course condemning the PLO as terrorist has the advantage of avoiding the question of the legitimacy of Palestinian aspirations.

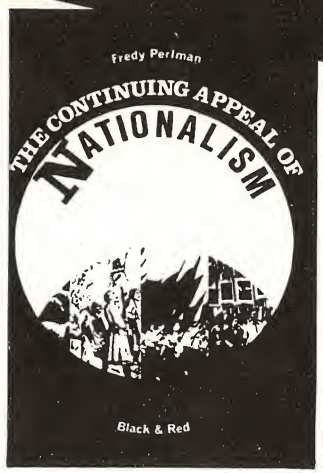
Becker's position is no better than the official Soviet Union line of claiming that all terrorism is sponsored by the United States and that the Soviet Union is as pure as the driven snow. (Becker quotes from a work by the Soviet Union writer Ernist Henry who asserts precisely this.) The truth is that there is a global struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States with each backing whatever the other opposes. National liberation movements are used as pawns in the struggle between the two superpowers and each superpower tries to discredit those who oppose it by pointing to the backing they receive from the other superpower. Instead of opposing one of the two superpowers and uncritically backing the other, as both Becker and Henry do, we should oppose both. As for the national liberation movements, whether or not we agree with their goals, we must condemn them whenever their military actions spill over into terrorism. The mentality of terrorism is the mentality of government as the career of Menachen Begin illustrates.

Brian Moseley

The publication reviewed above is not available from any of the groups comprising (?) the New Anarchist Review.

FREDY PERLMAN

Fredy Perlman
Black & Red
Paperback
£4.50



Fredy Perlman
Black and Red
paperback
£1.75

The Libertarian movement is greatly indebted to Black and Red Books who over the years have made available many important texts, notably Arshinov's *History of the Makhnovist Movement*, Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* and Voline's *The Unknown Revolution*. One of the main inspirations behind Black and Red was Fredy Perlman who we regret to announce died on July 26. Apart from translating many titles Fredy was also the author of *Against His-story, Against Leviathan, Incoherence of the Intellectual, Reproduction of Daily Life, Revolt in Socialist Yugoslavia, Plunder* and *The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism*. A memorial gathering was held for Fredy on August 19. We reproduce below a short biography, published originally in *Fifth Estate*, a North American anarchist paper.

Fredy Perlman was born in Brno, Czechoslovakia on August 20, 1934. He emigrated with his parents to Cochabamba, Bolivia in 1938 just ahead of the Nazi takeover. The Perlman family came to the United States in 1945 and lived variously in Mobile, Alabama, Brooklyn, Queens before settling in Lakeside Park, Kentucky, a suburb of Cincinnati, Ohio where Fredy gradu ated high school.

In 1952 he attended Morehead State College in Kentucky and then UCLA from 1953-55. Fredy was on the staff of *The Daily Bruin,* the school newspaper, when the reactionary university administration fired all of the editors of the publication. The five editors, including Fredy, proceeded to publish an independent paper which they distributed on the campus.

In 1956-59 he attended Columbia University where he met his life-long companion, Lorraine Nybakken. He originally enrolled as a student of English literature, but soon concentrated his efforts in philosophy, political science and European literature. One particularly influential teacher for him at this time was C Wright Mills.

From 1959-63, he and Lorraine lived on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, while Fredy worked on a statistical analysis of the World's resources with John Ricklefs. They participated in anti-bomb and pacifist activities with the Living Theatre and others. Fredy was arrested following a sit-down in Times Square in the fall of 1961. He became the printer for the Living Theatre and during that time wrote *The New Freedom, Corporate Capitalism* and a play, *Plunder*, which he published himself.

In Jan 1963, Fredy and Lorraine sailed for Europe on a Swedish freighter for what they considered a definitive departure. In September of that year they arrived in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, after living some months in Copenhagen and Paris. In June, he had inquired about becoming a student in Czechoslovakia, but the country of his birth found his request to be suspect.

From 1963-66 Fredy studied at the Belgrade University Economics Faculty where he received a Master's degree. His thesis was titled 'The Structure of Backwardness'. He received his Ph.D. at the Law Faculty; his dissertation was titled 'Conditions for the Development of a Backward Region', which created an outrage among some members of the faculty. During his last year in Yugoslavia, he was a member of the Planning Institute for Kosovo and Metohija.

During 1966-69, Fredy and Lorraine lived in Kalamazoo, Michigan where Fredy was a professor in the Economics Department at Western Michigan University. Most of his teaching was in introductory social science courses and again he created outrage among some members of the faculty when he initiated student-run classes and let the students grade themselves. During his first year in Kalamazoo, he and Milos Samardzija, one of his professors from Belgrade, translated I I Rubin's *Essays on Marx's Theory of Value.* Fredy wrote an introduction to the book: 'An Essay on Commodity Fetishism'.

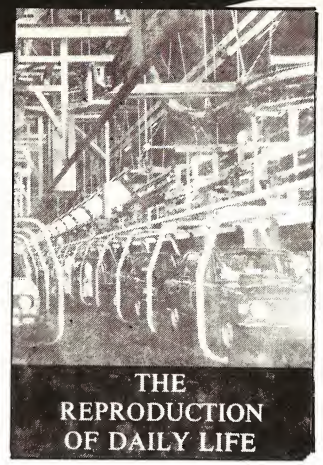
In May 1968, after lecturing for two weeks in Turin, Italy, Fredy went to Paris on the last train before rail traffic was shut down by strikes. He participated in the exhilarating May days in Paris, and worked at the Censier centre with the Citroen factory committee. After returning to Kalamazoo in August, he collaborated with Roger Gregoire in writing *Worker-Student Action Committees, May '68.*

During his last year in Kalamazoo, Fredy had left the university and together with several other people, mostly students, inaugurated *Black and Red* of which six issues appeared. Typing and layout was done at Fredy and Lorraine's house and the printing at the Radical Education Project in Ann Arbor. In January 1969, he completed *The Reproduction of Daily Life.* While travelling in Europe in the Spring, he spent several weeks in Yugoslavia and there wrote *Revolt in Socialist Yugoslavia,* which was suppressed by the authorities as a CIA plot.

In August 1969, he and Lorraine moved to Detroit where he wrote *The Incoherence of the Intellectual* and with others, translated Debord's *Society of the Spectacle.*

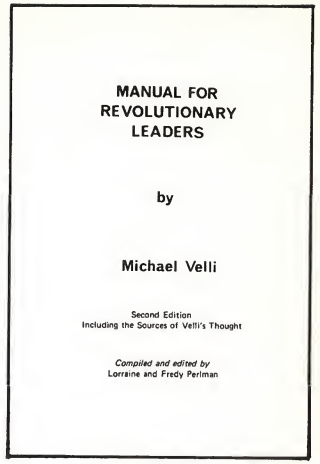
In 1970 Fredy was one of a large group who set up the Detroit Printing Co-op with equipment from Chicago which they moved, set up and learned to operate. For the next decade, Black and Red publications were printed there along with countless other projects ranging from leaflets to newspapers to books.

Between 1971-76, he worked on, often with others, several books, some original, others translations, including *Manual for Revolutionary Leaders, Letters of Insurgents,* Arshinov's *History of the Makhnovist Movement*, Voline's *The Unknown Revolution* and



Reproduction of Daily Life
F Perlman
Black and Red
pamphlet
70p

Revolt in Socialist Yugoslavia
F Perlman
Black and Red
pamphlet
£1.00



Manual for Revolutionary Leaders
M Velli
Black and Red
paperback
£5.00

Camatte's *The Wandering of Humanity*.

In 1976, Fredy underwent heart surgery to replace a damaged heart valve. After, he helped write and perform 'Who's Zerelli?' a play critiquing the authoritarian aspects of the medical establishment.

During 1977-80, he studied (and charted) world history. During these years, he travelled to Turkey, Egypt, Europe and regions of the US to visit historic sites with Lorraine. In 1980, he began a comprehensive history of 'The Strait' (Detroit and surroundings). He did not finish this work as the first and last chapters remain unwritten. In July 1985, he estimated that it would take him eight or ten months to complete and edit the manuscript.

Both Fredy and Lorraine helped on *The Fifth Estate* doing typesetting and proofreading as well as contributing articles. Fredy's most recent contributions were 'Anti-Semitism and the Beirut Pogrom' and 'The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism'. During 1982-3, Fredy suspended work on 'The Strait' to write *Against His-story, Against Leviathan*.

On July 26, 1985, Fredy underwent heart surgery at Henry Ford Hospital to replace two valves. His damaged heart was not able to resume its functioning at the end of the operation.

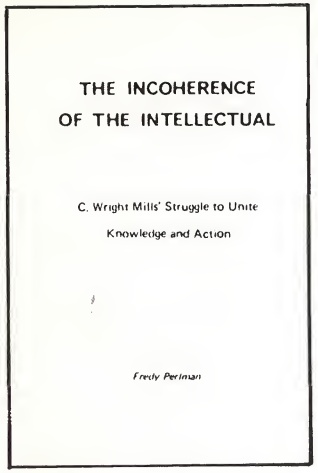
* * *

The Reproduction of Daily Life

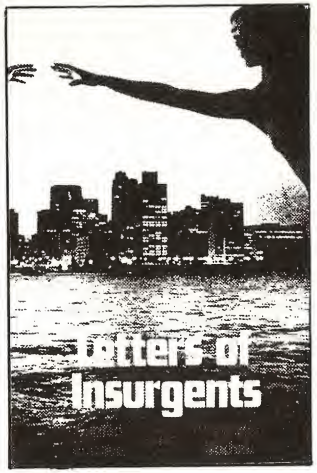
The task of Capitalist ideology is to maintain the veil which keeps people from seeing that their own activities reproduce the form of their daily life; the task of critical theory is to unveil the activities of daily life, to render them transparent, to make the reproduction of the social form of capitalist activity visible within people's daily activities. With this aim in mind, this essay sets out to elucidate the mechanisms by which human beings reproduce the conditions of their own immiseration. In a readable and comprehensive manner Fredy deals with the alienation of living activity, fetishism of commodities, the transformation of living activity into capital, the accumulation of human activity, culminating in the realization that 'men who were much but had little, now have much but are little'.

Revolt in Socialist Yugoslavia

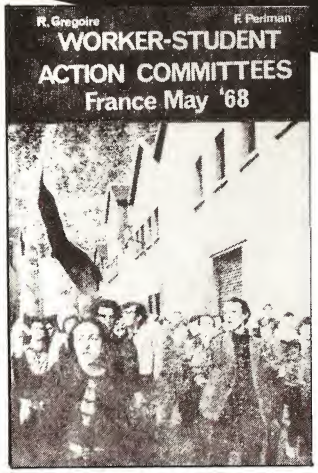
An essay dealing with the events of June '68 which exposed the gap between the official ideology of 'Workers Self Management' and the social relations it claimed to describe. Using original sources this essay documents the events of '68 whereby the official proclamations of workers self management were exposed through practice to be hollow shams. It also records how when the students began to organize themselves in demonstrations and general assemblies, the regime which proclaimed self management responded to this example of popular self organisation by putting an end to it through police and press repression.



Incoherence of the Intellectual
F Perlman
Black and Red
pamphlet
£4.00



Letters of Insurgents
S Nachalo and Y Vochek
Black and Red
paperback
£6.95



Worker-Student Action Committees, France May '68
R Gregoire/F Perlman
Black and Red
pamphlet
£2.00

Manual for Revolutionary Leaders

A satirical book offering to do for the modern Revolutionary Prince what Machiavelli had offered the Renaissance Prince. As Fredy himself later observed 'This phony manual fused Mao Zedong thought with the thought of Lenin, Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler and their modern followers; and offered grizzly recipes for the preparation of revolutionary organisations and the seizure of total power. Disconcertingly, at least half of the requests for the manual came from aspiring national liberators.

Worker-Student Action Committees. France May '68
R Gregoire and F Perlman

A booklet divided into two parts. The first part consists of articles which are attempts to understand the events as they took place and to define the perspectives behind the actions. The second part consists of a critical evaluation of these actions and perspectives, to seek to answer why our actions did not lead to the realization of our perspectives, why did the escalation of the movement reach a certain point and go no further?

Letters of Insurgents
Written under S Nachalo and Y Vocheck

A book which consists of an exchange of letters between former freedom fighters, one of whom is in exile, and contrasts the rebellions and disappointments of the sixties in the East and West.

The Incoherence of the Intellectual: C Wright Mills' Struggle to Unite Knowledge and Action

As a great part of Fredy's theoretical and practical struggle was an investigation of the process of alienation and fragmentation by which human beings surrender their autonomy and participate in their own suppression it is appropriate that he should have provided this constructive critique of Mills work. If Mills did not provide any solutions he at least raised questions that Fredy was to return to again and again; questions about the relation of the individual to history, about the relevance of intellectual activity to the making of history, about the unity of thought and action and theory to practice.

The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism — reviewed in *NAR* No 5.
Against His-story, Against Leviathan — reviewed in *NAR* No 1.

All the above titles are available:
Trade:
Housmans Distribution

Mail Order:
Housmans Bookshop
Anarchist Book Service

ANARCHIST BOOK SERVICE BM BOOKSERV LONDON WC1N 3XX

The Anarchist Book Service is a non-wage paying, non-profit distributing project. All excess income, after meeting costs, is used to improve the range of titles available.

The primary purpose of the ABS is to enable those who, by virtue of where they live or because of the ordering policy of their local bookshop, have difficulty in obtaining anarchist literature. Even those with an 'enlightened' local bookshop rarely discover the wide range of titles available.

The following pages list the current titles available from us, together with a short description. Fuller descriptions of certain titles can be found in this copy, and previous editions, of the *New Anarchist Review*. Most anarchist periodicals have a policy of reviewing titles but, should you wish to know more about a specific title, please ask and we'll try to oblige.

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pamphlet Black & Red Books
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REVOLT IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA — JUNE 1968
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REVOLUTION IN SEATTLE
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REVOLUTION OF EVERYDAY LIFE
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SABATE — GUERRILLA EXTRAORDINARY
R Teller £2.95
paperback Elephant Editions
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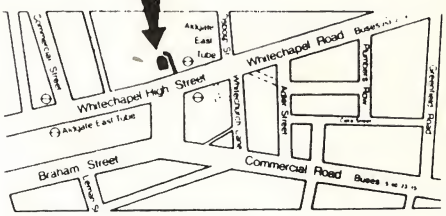

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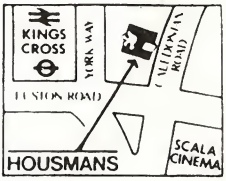

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